UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

The Disarmament Conference and Its Members

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

The Need of a New Religious Ideal

By ERNEST A. NORRIS

Friedrich Nietzsche

By GEORGE WILLIS COOKE

Thus Spake We

Poem by ZONA GALE

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXVIII. THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1921 NUMBER 3

THUS SPAKE WE.

The southwest wind came upon me.
I stood to meet it, feeling the bestowal
Of blown rye-fields, of Autumn borders,
Of purple flowers, sheathed nuts, sour tendrils,
All in the odor of September wind.
With the dusk the wind was not yet quiet
And now it brought the salt lake breath,
The perfume of pine and resin and acorns,
The tonic urge of early frost.
At midnight I woke and the wind was waking
And now it came bearing in the spaces,
Utter fields of air and the small voice
Of all the neighbour constellations.

Not till then, not till then did I win the word of the wind,
Though all that day it had been crying:
Now, waking, I heard the wind speaking within my heart,
As if we had one voice lifting and falling with one breath . . .
But all the sound in the room was the brush of the muslin curtain
Blown across a brown wicker suitcase.

Portage, Wis. ZONA GALE.

Please note, dear friends, the following facts about American, British, French and Japanese army estimates before and after the Great War, as given in a recent statement to the House of Commons by Sir L. Worthington Evans, Secretary of State for War:

	1913-1914	1920-1921
United States	$316,000,000	$911,000,000
Great Britain	£28,416,000	£164,750,000
France	913,750,000 fr.	6,546,000,000 fr.
Japan	yen 97,545,515	yen 230,000,000

When noting these figures, please recall that the Great War of 1914-1918 was fought "to end war." It surely was "a glorious victory"!

"There is famine in Russia," writes the Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia.

> The people are dying, the future is dying, because the population is deserting houses, lands, fields, farms, and is fleeing eastward crying for bread. Most generous aid is needed immediately. *All other considerations must be cast aside.* Delay spells an unprecedented calamity.

This Patriarch knows the Bolsheviki at first hand. He has seen his church disestablished, and his priests made beggars, by their rule. He may be conceived to have about as much sympathy with their undertaking as the late lamented Mr. Palmer had with the "reds" in this country. But the Patriarch happens to be a Christian, who has heard it said of old that "if thine enemy hunger, feed him"; and now, in the face of the indescribable misery of Russia, he asks the world for food. Those who know the Bolsheviki only by hearsay, however, and incidentally have suffered nothing from them, are not so charitable. While men, women and children starve in Russian villages, the Allied governments of Europe dicker with the Soviets and dispute with one another about what shall be done. Our own government, in answer to the cry of hunger, replied suavely that food would be dispatched *provided* certain definitely named conditions were complied with. We had thought that the war had made adequate exposure of the reality of our loud-trumpeted "Christian" civilization, but the Russian famine now reveals that there were depths of hypocrisy and shame still to be uncovered. According to present-day standards, a certain famous passage in Matthew should be revised to read:

> Then shall the King say, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat on the condition that ye be allowed to distribute the same in your own way, and on condition that I do certain things that ye want done.

To those who are not "Christians" but just plain humans, we would say that the Quakers distribute food to dying folk in Russia on no other condition than that of need, and that these Quakers require funds!

The cause of non-resistance is making steady progress, especially among women. Thus, at the meeting of the Third Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a resolution offered by Mrs. Henry Villard was adopted by a majority vote, as follows: *"Whereas we believe that wars will never cease until human life is held sacred and inviolable, it is hereby resolved that we adopt the principle of non-resistance under all circumstances."* More impressive because more specific, because adopted by uanimous vote, and because made the basis of organization and condition of membership, is the following affirmation accepted at the Conference held at Niagara Falls, Ontario, on August 19, 1921, under the auspices of the Women's Peace Society: *"I affirm it is my intention never to aid in or sanction war, offensive or defensive, international or civil, in any way, whether by making or handling munitions, subscribing to war loans, using my labor for the purpose of setting others free for war service, helping by money or work any relief organization which supports or condones war.* UNITY welcomes these solemn pledges, and commends them as the straightest and hardest blows that can be hit at war. Would that our men's organizations would learn to take similar action! And what a commentary on our religion that, apart from the Quakers and a few obscure groups of faithful believers, our churches are silent on this issue!

We always knew that the Alien Enemy Act, passed in this country during the war for the legalized robbery of unoffending Germans, was an unblushing violation of international law. It was as gross though not as terrible an offense against the comity of nations as Germany's initial bombing of defenceless cities. We never knew, however, until we read a recent communication in *The Nation* (September 7, page 265), that this act was also a flagrant violation of a treaty. In a speech by Senator Knox, reported verbatim in the *Congressional Record* (Vol. 61, No. 64, pp. 3397 ff.), it is explained that "we had a treaty with Prussia running back to 1779 and renewed in 1828 in which we made a specific agreement with Prussia that even in case of war the rights of private property should be sacred. . . . Of course, *the Alien Enemy Act was in direct violation of that treaty.* . . . We made a treaty with the fact in view that we might possibly at some time be at war, *and we passed an Act of Congress which, of course, violated the terms of that treaty.*" In other words, we did exactly what Germany did in the case of her treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium—we made of our solemn pledge "a scrap of paper." In utter defiance of every principle of international morality, we did what we had the will and power to do, on plea of military necessity. At bottom this should not surprise us, for all nations act alike in time of war. But it might well serve to remind us of a certain passage of Scripture which says something about seeing the mote in our brother's eye and not seeing the beam in our own eye.

Henry Arthur Jones is certainly on the war-path these days! Having handled H. G. Wells to his own liking, he now turns to George Bernard Shaw and denounces him as a "criminal anarch" for his suggestion of the possibility of war between England and America. Mr. Jones in his attack uses almost all the insulting words that the unabridged dictionary of the English tongue can supply, but we do not see that he makes even so much as a single rift in Shaw's armor. To say that war between these two countries would be an inconceivable disaster, is one thing; to say that it could not happen, or might not be deliberately plotted by politicians, is another and quite different thing. Henry Arthur Jones, or any other Englishman, who imagines that "under no conceivable circumstance could my countrymen be persuaded or cajoled or duped or forced to load a single bullet against America," is either ignorant of, or indifferent to, the known facts of war psychology, and the methods used by modern governments to manipulate that psychology. America and England could be thrown into war in a week; and the citizens of the two countries, if given the word from Washington and London, would fight one another as patriotically as they fought Germany. And on neither side would one single man want the war, or want to fight! That's the irony of the situation as it exists today! As for Shaw's attack on Lloyd George, we are persuaded that Shaw knows his man. The English Premier would take his country into war with America in a minute, if he thought that thereby he could win an election or strengthen his hold on public office. And he would do it with an appeal to liberty and right, the cause of civilization and the ending of all wars, which would make every cathedral in the Kingdom rock with rapturous Te Deums.

Will men believe anything, no matter how fantastic? They will if they are cowards, as many men are, and if they have something to lose, as most men have. Some time ago a joking fisherman cast into the sea a bottle in which was sealed a paper telling an alarming and of course imaginary tale about pirates. A ship was being attacked—help, help! The bottle was picked up and the paper read. At once ships began to disappear at an amazing rate. Pirates were sailing the broad Atlantic, there could be no doubt of that! Where could such pirates come from? Where else than from Bolshevik Russia, the port whence sails all the evil now feeding upon the world? So there develops over night, as it were, a full-grown yarn to the effect that the Bolsheviki are conducting pirate raids upon the American coast. This yarn is caught up and discussed with the greatest seriousness by the newspapers, and at last is accepted at its full face value by the Department of State and the Department of Justice in Washington! This is assuredly "the height of the ridiculous," and yet it is nothing more than a fair sample of what people have been willing, nay eager, to believe about the Bolsheviki during all of the last three years. From nationalizing women at home to blowing up Wall Streets abroad, there has been nothing too wicked, nor too wonderful, for these Russians to do. Before they appeared, the Germans were the doers of all kinds of amazing stunts. Of late the Jews have been coming on the scene as the makers of the war, the arch-plotters against civilization, etc. And of course the Catholics, with their treasonable oaths and hidden arsenals, are always on tap. It is an astounding psychological habit, this of making the man you hate a kind of miracle-worker, who does things no other living creature can do! But it is when we are most afraid, of course, that we see ghosts and hear the stealthy tread of specters.

Prof. Einstein's comments on anti-Semitism are interesting, especially as bearing upon our treatment of the alien here in America. "The existence of Judaism in Germany," he says, "is attributable almost wholly to the pressure of anti-Semitism." He states that when he lived in Switzerland, "nothing occurred

to influence (his) Jewish sentiments." "In general, I was hardly conscious of my Jewish origin because I was not made conscious of it by others. But as soon as I settled in Berlin, everything changed." He saw around him the barriers everywhere reared against the Jew. He felt the distress and unsatisfied mental hunger of the younger Jewish generation. In the university he found the anti-Semitic feeling highly developed among professors and students. All these experiences, he says, "awoke within me my national Jewish consciousness." The psychology of this experience has direct and impressive bearing upon the question of Americanizing the so-called alien. In the past, we have been unconcerned about the distinction between alien and native. We have accepted the foreign-born among us as human beings quite like ourselves, ignored the fact of their alien origin, and thus quickly received them into the bosom of the American family. Like Einstein in Switzerland, they were made to be unconscious of their differences by our being unconscious of them ourselves. Today, however, under the fell influence of the War, we are changing our policy. We are stamping the alien as indeed an "alien," shutting him out from our sympathy and goodwill, looking upon him with suspicion and fear, subjecting him to special kinds of educational and political treatment as though he were a diseased being who must be disinfected before he can be admitted into association with other men. A full-blown anti-alien movement, in other words, is under way, which will have the same effect upon the foreign-born in this country as the anti-Semitic movement has upon the Jews in Europe. We are following with fine enthusiasm the one policy which will make Americanization of the aliens among us impossible. Treated in this high-handed and patronizing fashion, they will become conscious of their own peculiar nationalities as they have never been before, and thus little by little develop into separate and isolated groups safely immune from all amalgamating influences. Strange, is it not, that a method followed happily and triumphantly for a hundred years, should now be displaced by a method which finds its model in the medieval ghetto!

On Sunday, August 21st, we attended services at an Episcopal church on the coast of Maine. The occasion was especially devoted to the great cause of goodwill and peace, with particular reference to the forthcoming conference in Washington and abiding amity between America and England. A great audience was in attendance; a bishop and four clergymen were in the chancel and participated in the services; the sermon was preached by a Presbyterian clergyman of high reputation and noble eloquence, from Philadelphia. When the time came for "the first lesson," one of the Episcopal ministers arose, announced the ninth chapter of *Amos*, and read as follows:

> I saw the Lord standing upon the altar: and he said, Smite the lintels of the door, that the posts may shake: and cut them in the head, all of them; and I will slay the last of them with the sword: he that fleeth of them shall not flee away, and he that escapeth of them shall not be delivered.
>
> Though they dig into hell, thence shall mine hand take them; though they climb up into heaven, thence will I bring them down:
>
> And though they hide themselves in the top of Carmel, I will search and take them out thence; and though they be hid from my sight in the bottom of the sea, thence will I command the serpent, and he shall bite them.
>
> And though they go into captivity before their enemies, thence will I command the sword, and it shall slay them: and I will set mine eyes upon them for evil and not for good. . . .
>
> Behold the eyes of the Lord God are upon the sinful kingdom, and I will destroy it from the face of the earth. . . .

As this terrific passage of old-time butchery was read, we looked about us at the highly intelligent faces in the audience, and could see not one which expressed any consciousness of the incongruity or essential horror of such a performance. The minister read with all the pious gusto of an African war-chief summoning his braves to battle. And thus were we prepared for the sermon on peace among the nations!

The Disarmament Conference and Its Members

The discovery and formulation of the law of economic determination—or the materialistic interpretation of history, as it is sometimes called—has always seemed to us to be one of the supreme intellectual achievements of modern times. It has an importance second only to that of Darwin's great law of evolution. In the one case as in the other, however, it is foolish to adhere too close to the letter of the original doctrine. Natural selection, as postulated by Darwin, is only one of many factors at work in the process of evolutionary change. In the same way, economic determination can be safely regarded as only one, even though the most potent, of the forces which operate to control the line of historical development. The "great man" influence, for example, although having no such significance as that arbitrarily attached to it by Carlyle, still has its part to play in the human drama. Think of what it would have meant in Europe in 1914, if there had been one man in Germany, Austria or Russia sincerely devoted to the cause of peace, and equipped with both the personal ability and the political power to make his devotion count. Think also of Russia, and the presence among the Bolsheviki of two such men as Lenin and Trotzky; what would the revolution have been without them? As for the Versailles Conference, there was needed there, as Viscount Bryce pointed out at Williamstown,

> persons of the class which we now call supermen, persons who possessed . . . wide vision, a grasp of fundamental principles, a calm judgment raised above the revengeful passions of the moment, persons who loved and sought justice looking beyond the present to the future, seeking the good of mankind as well as the advantage of their respective nations.

Had such men been present, Europe might have been spared some of the dreadful woes from which she has been suffering since the making of the so-called

Peace. But, alas! as Viscount Bryce himself concedes, "such men did not appear."

It is because men are still important that we regard the selection of the persons to sit as representatives of their respective nations in the Washington Conference next month, as a matter of incalculable importance. That the Conference can do much to stay the action of the political and economic forces now loose in the world, may be regarded as exceedingly doubtful. But we have faith enough in divine principles to believe that the human will can still work its miracles; and that the right men, therefore, sitting together in Washington, especially when backed by such a public opinion as is now astir in this and other countries, might not only solve the diplomatic problems in the far Pacific, but also do something to the end of reducing and limiting armaments, and thus of preventing to this extent the outbreak of war. The right kind of Conference, in the present state of the world's affairs, could not be wholly a futile thing!

It is the realization of this fact which makes so fearfully depressing the appointments to the Washington Conference thus far announced. It looks as though we were to have what *The Freeman* has picturesquely and pessimistically forecasted as "the same old gang." The same old gang, in other words, which twice disappointed the world at the Hague, and finally betrayed mankind utterly at Versailles! This does not mean, of course, that the same men who sat at these earlier international gatherings are to again sit in Washington. It *does* mean, however, that the same type of men are to sit in this momentous gathering. The representatives of the United States—Secretary of State Hughes, Elihu Root, Senator Lodge, Senator Underwood—are all, like Brutus, honorable men. They have all had experience in domestic politics, and two of them at least have had experience and training in foreign affairs. But they are men without vision or desire beyond that of selfish national aggrandizement. They have either never had any international ideals of any kind, or have lost the few with which in the beginning they were feebly endowed. They represent the old ways of thought and methods of action which have wrecked the hope of the world so many times in the past. Their whole approach to such problems as the Conference will have to deal with is political and not social. Furthermore they represent or even understand no one of those basic human interests of modern life which are most disastrously affected by war, most insistent that war shall be ended, and alone competent to achieve this mighty end. We refer, of course, to labor, culture, religion, women, above all the common people to whom war and peace are matters of life and death.

What is true of the American conferees is true in the same way and to the same degree of those who have been named or suggested from other countries. It seems to be the same old story of expecting to grow grapes from thorns and figs from thistles—of asking a band of highway men to establish law and order. If ever we are to get anything out of a peace conference—if once in this world we are to secure results and not disappointments—we must have as members of such conference men who want peace, who believe in the practicability of peace, who have studied the problem and know the conditions of peace, and who are not afraid to sacrifice the claims of nationalism to the ideals of peace. How many men of this type are to assemble in Washington; and how much, therefore, may we fairly expect from the deliberations (*secret,* if you please!) of this august body?

But we would not have our criticism merely negative. In order to indicate with some particularity the kind of conference in which we would have some hope, we propose to name herewith the persons whom we would have made members of the Washington Conference, had we been privileged to exercise the appointing power. We limit our selection to representatives of America and England, since we are not familiar with all the public men and leaders in France, Italy and Japan. Furthermore, we shall not give free rein to our full desires, and name the out-and-out pacifist groups who could be counted upon to work out an ideal program, but who could never in the world be expected to win appointment to an official body of this kind. While not excluding pacifists, we shall try to be practical and thus name names which might well be chosen today by wise and enlightened governments—such a government, for example, as may be set up in England by the Labor Party in the next five or ten years. Representatives who might surprise but would not dumbfound the world, is what we are after.

If we were President Harding, therefore, and really wanted the Disarmament Conference to be a success, we would have selected the following five persons to represent the United States:

Senator Borah of Idaho.
Hamilton Holt.
Lucia Ames Mead.
Bishop Charles E. Williams of Michigan.
Sidney Hillman.

Senator Borah would most fittingly represent the Senate, not because he happens to be chairman of the Foreign Relations or any other Senatorial Committee, but because he initiated the movement which resulted in the calling of the Conference, is a statesman of the first order of ability, and really believes in disarmament.

Hamilton Holt would well represent the liberal and cultural elements of the country as a man of conviction, character and long devotion to the cause of peace.

Lucia Ames Mead would not only represent women

at the council board, but bring to its deliberations a mind as able, sane and well equipped on international questions as any in this country.

Bishop Williams, both in ability and character, is the highest type of churchman that we have in America today, and would nobly and heroically represent the religious forces of the nation. For the first time in the history of mankind, the Christian point of view would be present in diplomatic counsel.

Sidney Hillman is the ablest and most far-seeing labor leader in America, and one of the ablest and most far-seeing in the world. Few men could match him in wit and spirit if he took his seat in Washington.

If we were Lloyd George and really wanted the Disarmament Conference to be a success, we would name a delegation something like the following to represent the British Empire:

Premier Jan Smuts of South Africa.
J. A. Hobson, or Norman Angell.
Mrs. Philip Snowden.
An English churchman.
J. Ramsay Macdonald.

Gen. Smuts was the one man who came out of the Versailles Conference without loss of reputation. We believe that his action there in signing the Treaty and pleading for its support was mistaken; but his motives were clear and high, and his ideals unshaken. Smuts is perhaps the one responsible statesman in the world today who understands the international situation from the standpoint of peace, and who could be counted upon to work effectively and whole-heartedly, in secret or open council, for its fulfillment.

J. A. Hobson and *Norman Angell* are scholars, practical idealists, true liberals, the best equipped men among the intellectuals of England to face and help solve the problems which will be raised in Washington.

Mrs. Philip Snowden is the ablest public leader among women in England today. She is in closest touch with the laboring classes of the Kingdom, has full and first-hand knowledge of European conditions, has an unconquerable spirit and a noble eloquence.

An English churchman, to match our own Bishop Williams, should not be hard to find. Eight Anglican bishops are members of the British Labor Party; of these, not a few preserved a Christian spirit during the war, and all have a true vision of a humanity that is something more and greater than the British Empire. There must also be numerous non-conformists of the Clifford and Orchard type. We do not here attempt to name a man, because we have no adequate knowledge of English churchmen, but Lloyd George would have no difficulty in finding his churchman, if he wanted him.

J. Ramsay Macdonald is among the most enlightened and idealistic of English labor leaders. No one of all the men who occupy the front bench of the Labor Party is better qualified to represent the needs and demands of the common people at a conference on international affairs.

These are the men and women whom we would choose to sit for America and Great Britain at the Washington Conference. We would have men and women of the same type to represent France, Italy and Japan. Would such conferees accomplish anything in the matter of disarmament and international concord? We are certain that they would do infinitely more than the conferees who have actually been chosen for this high mission of peace; and we are not at all beyond hope that they would accomplish things not now dreamed of in the philosophy of present-day presidents and premiers. One thing is sure—that we shall make progress just to the extent that we get responsibility out of the hands of governments and into the hands of peoples.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

OUR LAND.

The gift of an idealist,
She came of vision, and the dream
Of one who saw beyond vast waters gleam
The light of a new world without a name:
A gift of Life she came—
She, the renascence from Earth's ancient woe,
With Raphael born and Michel Angelo.

Noiseless, the patient years went by,
And only red-men cared to roam
Her glorious streams, and call her mountains home.
Then came to her, like pilgrims of the Grail
Whose courage could not fail,
Others, sad exiles, longing to be free—
Seekers of God and human liberty!

A blessed, blessed Land! She gave
Ideals, to mankind unknown,
And toiling, taught a wondering world to own
The dignity of toil, despised before;
She opened a great Door;
Enlarged the human mind, and made men see
That he who shares his freedom is most free.

Oh, strong and beautiful and brave,—
The Titan-Mother of the West,—
Gathering in her arms and to her breast
The hurt, unfriended, weary, and forlorn,
Outcast, and alien-born!
How should the afflicted poor beyond the seas
Not yearn to her—the new Hesperides? * * *

Full garners were her toil's reward;
But, laboring, always she dreams,
Mistake her not! Mid clouds her eagle screams,
Emblem of liberty that nothing bars,
And on her brow are stars—
Stars whose pure radiance is not all of earth,
Enkindled there where Justice had its birth.

Beloved Land! Apart, she smiled!
But, oh, more glorious today,
Life's Larger Summons eager to obey,
Her strength outpoured to succor and befriend
A World, wide without end,
She waits—how yearningly!—the hour to come
When laureled Peace shall lead her heroes home!

Harper's. —*Florence Earle Coates.*

THE PULPIT

The Need of a New Religious Ideal

By Ernest A. Norris, of Albany, New York

No religion, in the coming time, can live which does not have for its main aim human betterment. With this aim religion will then be the principal factor in sociological science. So that religion will have the support of science; and social science of religion.

If philosophy in the past had not evaded its obligations, what Plato pointed out, namely, that philosophers should be the leaders of men, would have borne fruit long since in the connecting of religion with social science. What he was enabled to see from his own researches was the necessity for at least a small group of students who should set apart, as it were, and be able by prolonged study, close observation and freedom from bias, to take in the whole situation relating to human social life. He seems to have seen that most men were or would become specialists, and each tended or would tend to magnify his own specialty until he came to believe that it embraced the whole. And so there would arise interminable conflicts, and without a philosophical balance-wheel there would likely be in these most important matters of life, pandemonium about all the time. There was need, he thought, of a *seer* in all generations of men; one who could see and point out the conditions by which the whole could be made to work harmoniously together and for the best interests of all human kind.

But philosophy seems ever since to have been trying to discover what its real business is in this world; trying to define itself; and not succeeding in these efforts, it has taken up side-issues, mere philosophical by-play, dogmatic assertions regarding absolutes and infinities, and the nature of mind and matter, which does *not matter,* and we need *never mind.* What humanity does need from philosophy is how it can most completely live. And for the neglect of this vital inquiry it may hold philosophy responsible for all the man-made calamities which have occurred since philosophy came to believe it had a mission on earth.

But now—and this is most important—since philosophy has evaded its obligations, ministers and teachers generally must broaden out to philosophical thought, at least in its more pragmatic aspects, and so regard religion from this point of view. We should try to discover, first, the psychological nature of religion so as to know best how to use it. And here we may find it to consist, in its pure form, of the strongest of human passions associated in a peculiar manner with an ideal of psychic instrument, the main office of which seems to be to stimulate this passion into existence, and there sustain it as the most important factor of religion's nature: the *mover,* the *lige,* in fact. The point to be noted here is that while the passion seems to stay at the same high intensity the ideal should vary with intellectual development in order to keep the passion up to this necessary high pitch. It must never "cool," as man should be *pointed right* throughout life; and this seems to require a constant stimulus. When this is not kept up man drifts and religion dies. The most important question that here arises is what is the most suitable ideal to associate with the religious passion in our present stage of intellectual development, that is, to produce the best results?

If it be assumed that the religious passion is but the social passion somewhat disguised, it may be seen that if humanity can be so idealized or be made the instrument that gives rise to this passion, it will be working at its very best continuously for human good.

The change required here to be made is that the collective human life become the center of interest, instead of as now, where the main interest is centered on *self,* considered in a social sense.

The Necessity of This Change.

If we take the amount of human happiness as the criterion of human development, we would seem at present to be in a comparative high stage of human decadence.

Humanity is dying on account of its foolhardy attitude towards itself. At no previous time, perhaps, in the age of the world, was the possibility so great for all humanity living the most joyous existence as the present time, while at no previous time was the possibilities so ignored and social energies scattered in such wasteful ways. And religion must be included in this indictment. It was assumed that Christianity had done away with tribal religions, with their strong regards for the members of their tribe, with an equally strong hatred for the members of all other tribes. But we have painful witness of late to the world wide revival of this tribal religion. We may call it patriotism to cover its degenerating influences, but just the same, we are experiencing the evil effects of a divided humanity, of Christians using every diabolical means to exterminate each other.

That man is an animal plus training or culture, would seem to be true from the apparently rapid manner by which he can change from the human to the brute sphere. It has been demonstrated throughout the civilized world that one night is sufficient time for this change to be made. And here is brought out the tremendous necessity of right training, with a religion that shall keep men *pointed right* all the time and no other religion can now do this but the religion which shall have its greatest interest centered on the collective human life. All other ideals must continue to waste considerable if not all of its energy. This has now been experimentally demonstrated. Having humanity for the religious ideal, it will be found not only to work best but all intellectual conflict or stultification will then be avoided. It is the only religious ideal that can keep man rightly pointed and impel him continuously through life to work for the best interest of the human kind, in which his own uplift is included. We all know that religion can be more or less suddenly acquired, at least in early life. And we all know, after habits have been once acquired, how difficult, and in many cases seemingly impossible to break them, however injurious for the possessor or for others they may become.

Now let us endeavor to discover what a right religion can do for human uplift. A religion having humanity for its ideal, the possessor is impelled to work persistently for the good of humanity, as this is the only means by which this religious passion can be retained. Further, since the strongest passion in the human mind is here brought into play, its impelling force will now turn aside everything in its path that tends to submerge or obliterate this passion in accordance with the great law of life, which tends to attract and retain the most agreeable states or feelings. And

this will apply to any habits, however long acquired, which antagonize the highest human interests. With this human ideal in religion every individual possessing it is impelled in every conceivable manner to retain the associated passion. This feeling and this work *fills out his life.* He is brought in complete harmony with human social and religious development. It is the one passion that is seen to be at the basis of religious and social life. And it is because this passion has been corrupted in the past that there are now so many man-caused calamities.

In all social life below the human, social development seems to go on unconsciously. The social passion here seems to be always centered in some way on the life of the kind of species. It is highly probable that most of these creatures never know themselves as individuals even. That feeling which habitually goes out to a *self* in the human kind, goes out here to the collective life. Feelings seem in fact to do the whole work in the building up of the life of these simpler forms.

When "humanity" is enthroned as the one religious ideal, religion would then seem to have reached its last stage of development, as it here reaches its highest stage of efficiency; and no intellectual conflict can here arise, no matter how high a stage of intellectual development may in the future be attained.

The inquiry may be now made—will this new religious ideal conflict with Christianity?

That will depend on what interpretation is given to the term Christianity. If the religion of St. Paul, with an admixture of earlier savage customs and ceremonies, be meant, the answer must be yes. But if the religion of Jesus, as exemplified in his life, his simple teachings, in his attempt to establish a human brotherhood *on earth,* the answer must be no. Jesus would be the last person to recognize the religion attributed to him if he should come again on earth.

The principal difference between these two religions is that the one taught by St. Paul was selfish—or centered in the individual; while Jesus' whole life and teaching had an entirely social bearing. One was required to live their *individual life,* and find a *larger life* in the community. Jesus lived and died wholly for others, for humanity. He was perhaps the greatest humanitarian, in the highest sense, who ever lived. If he had been allowed to live, and had attempted to establish a religion, he would in all probability have established the religion of humanity, for this one thought seemed to have absorbed his mind.

Now that Jesus's hope is found to be fixed upon a perfect earth, a perfect social life, a kingdom of good on earth, the charge against him of other worldliness or historic pessimism falls to the ground. His great social passion stimulated him to try to found a new humanity here on earth.*

With his great human feeling and the customary belief of a father in heaven, he would naturally be led to the conclusion that an all-powerful and loving father could not allow the continuance of the wretched conditions which he saw the majority of the people were then in. So he came to that very reasonable conclusion that this kingdom of good would be set up in the very near future on earth.

Further, the belief of Christians in the divinity of Jesus, the belief in a Heavenly Father, and even the belief in a future state need not be disturbed, if such beliefs are found to arise spontaneously and give comfort to the individual, and do not conflict with complete living here on earth, or with the greatest interest being centered on collective human life.

There seems in the past to have been too much dogmatic assertion relative to ultimate matters, matters which the human mind can never be certain about, from the very nature of knowing. The limitation seems to be with all that is *good* for us to know. The height of absurdity seems to have been reached in present philosophical methods—in using mind to prove its non-existence, or give metaphysical proofs of the existence, only, of something other than mind.

We shall be satisfied with what *works* best for human good. After a certain depth of philosophical investigation has been reached, it is no longer concrete knowledge which is brought to the surface, but mystery. And with increasing depth of investigation the mystery continues to augment until such depth is reached where the bottom might reasonably be expected, when it is discovered there is no bottom, that the whole is the most profound mystery.

We have tried here to show the close affinity of a true religion to a true social science, so that in future religion may come to be considered an important factor, if not the most important factor in social science, or even come to be regarded as a component science of society.

We seem to be passing into the most critical period of human social life which will require the most consummate skill, coupled with the most complete honesty of purpose, to keep the human ship on a level keel and steer it through the much troubled waters it now encounters. The thousand and one attempts which have been made to mislead the people in their ignorance of the exact situation, seem now to have about lost their effect, since enlightenment has been extended, and nothing but catastrophe can result from their further extension or continuance. So we append here the four main requisites which seem to be necessary to start civilization over anew:

1. Equally high culture (not necessarily the same *kind*) for every normal human being so that they may enjoy,—
2. Economic and social equality,
3. Every normal adult to contribute useful social service to the best of his or her ability,
4. The cultivation of the Religion of Humanity as the one instrumentality which can keep man keyed up to this high ideal through life.

We said, the culture of every normal human being; and when it is recalled that one or a very small group of *atavists* may concoct the destruction of human social life, the importance of this inclusion may be readily seen. To what extent this group succeeded in their purpose, is still in doubt, as there is some talk already of the next world's war, and more preparation being made to bring it about, without the slightest concern, apparently, as to how much more human society can stand without going entirely to pieces, and returning again to a complete savage state.

The top notes of human life and conduct can be but sparingly sung, or they grate on the nerves and jar the hearing of the singer no less than of his listener.

—*Galsworthy.*

*C. H. Dickerson, in J. R.

CONTRIBUTED

Revolutionary Tendencies in Modern Literature

XII.

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE.

Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844-1900) has attracted much attention in recent years because of his pronounced individualism, his criticism of Christianity and his assertion of the importance of the superman. He has been classed among the philosophers, but he is rather to be regarded as a prose-poet, a moralist of an extreme type, and even as a teacher of esthetics and religion. Though he treated of philosophical subjects in his works, no philosophical system appears in his writings. He was a rhapsodist and a prophet, and even a mystic, rather than a profound thinker; but his books are suggestive and stimulating. Receiving almost no recognition in his own lifetime, he has since his death come to be greatly admired by radical students of all kinds, and in many countries.

William Machintire Salter, whose book on "Nietzsche As a Thinker" is the best which has yet been devoted to a thorough study of his writings, says that he "was a markedly individual thinker and lived to an extraordinary extent from within." We are further told by this acute interpreter that there was not much that was new in Nietzsche, though he was little influenced by his environment. In fact, contrary to general opinion, he has had little influence on his time. His phrases have been widely used, but his ideas have won little acceptance. Salter goes on to say that contemporary discussion

> is unaware of the new and deep problems which Nietzsche raises; and the references made to him only show how superficial the acquaintance with him ordinarily is. Far am I from asserting that we shall follow him; I simply mean that we shall know him, ponder over him, perchance grapple with him—and whether he masters us or we him, the strength of the struggle and the illumination born of it will become part of our better intellectual selves.

Kuno Francke speaks of

> that strangely paradoxical poet-philosopher whose rhapsodic half-inspired, half-crazy utterances have had such a dazzling, though stimulating influence on the present generation of German writers and artists. Here we see on the one hand a most delicate perception of the finest operation of the mind, a penetrating analysis of the most tender instincts and longings of the human soul, a reveling in artistic enjoyment, a glorification of the most sublimated culture—and on the other hand, a savage delight in the underlying selfishness and brutality of life, a ruthless exaltation of might over right, a fierce contempt for the Christian virtues of meekness and faith, an hysterical apotheosis of the "blond beast" and of cavalier morality.

Thomas Common, an admirer of Nietzsche, says that he is pre-eminently a philosophical writer who deals with the most vital questions of morals and politics in the light of the new knowledge shed upon them by evolution. Common also says that "it was reserved to Nietzsche to discover and formulate the laws of the complicated system of morals under which modern civilized human beings live." We are also assured that when Nietzsche's ideas are taken as a whole they form a harmonious and original system, which explains the world better than any other system of philosophy. Again:

> Nietzsche's great task has been to map out the whole field of life anew from the lofty standpoint he has reached. Besides being a philosopher, Nietzsche is at the same time the most interesting of all writers for cultured men and women to read.

Havelock Ellis says that Nietzsche cannot be ranged alongside the world's greatest spirits. We may better place him in the procession of distinguished figures in the world's spiritual history, which includes artists and moralists, sometimes mystics and prophets.

> "However transitory his influence may prove as a philosopher," Ellis adds, "his place as an artist is assured, for he carried the German language to a new stage of perfection; 'one day it will be said,' he wrote at the end, 'that Heine and I were the supreme artists of the German language,' and the claim is scarcely now seriously disputed. His work, however, will always be interesting for its singular gleams of insight and for the passionate vitality with which it presents the struggles and progress and fate of a human soul of the acutest sensibility and the rarest endowment."

The most important and systematic of Nietzsche's books are "The Dawn of Day" (*Morgenröthe*), "The Gay Science" (*Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*), and "Beyond Good and Evil" (*Jenseits von Gut und Böse*). In these works he speaks the most distinctly and most truly in the spirit of a philosopher. The most famous, as well as the most poetical and mystical, of his books is "Thus Spake Zarathustra" (*Also sprach Zarathustra*). Other works of importance to the understanding of Nietzsche are his "The Genealogy of Morals" (*Zur Genealogie der Moral*), "The Twilight of the Idols" (*Gotzendämmerung*), "Antichrist" and "Ecce Homo." These works differ much in quality and originality, but all of them have value with reference to Nietzsche's speculations.

As a professor of philology in the University of Basle for ten years Nietzsche gave much attention to the philosophy of Schopenhauer. At this period also he came into intimate relations with Wagner and wrote enthusiastically of his music. During the Franco-Prussian war he was a member of an ambulance corps, but broke down in health. Thereafter he was a victim of migraine, insomnia and eye-strain, as well as of serious stomach troubles. For the insomnia he made use of chloral, to which drug he became more and more a victim. As a result of these complications he was obliged to resign his position at Basle, and thenceforth flitted from one place to another, in Germany, Switzerland and Italy, in search of health, and conditions favorable to the writing of his books. During the last ten years of his life Nietzsche was hopelessly insane.

His health and his migratory life did not permit Nietzsche to devote himself to systematic study and writing. In consequence he jotted down his thoughts on his solitary walks or wherever opportunity offered. This will account for the fragmentary and aphoristic nature of his writings, and also for the rhapsodic and poetical form of his books. His bold and daring statements, his extreme assertions, his aggressive attitude of criticism and condemnation, his nihilistic conceptions in regard to current morality and Christianity, may be accepted in some degree, at least, as result of his illnesses, and the consequent distractions entering into his life.

Nietzsche may be regarded as a product of the later romantic development in Europe, modified by the scientific tendencies of his time. Fundamentally, his mind was instinctive, emotional and artistic; but, living in a scientific age, he gave a realistic trend to his conception of man and nature. Feeling dominated his mind, and he thought in terms of an esthetic appre-

ciation of the world rather than in those of metaphysics. The body of his poetry is small; but he never ceased to be a poet, even when his thinking was the most abstract. Science influenced him in as far as it appeared in Darwinism and evolution; but he never realized the true meaning and significance of science. The struggle for existence meant to him a huge conflict of battling forces, especially in the antagonisms of nations.

The tendency of Nietzsche's mind was toward what is esthetic and artistic; and it was art in the form of music and lyric expression, prose-poetry and tragedy, to which he gave chief attention. He conceived of art in a very broad and humanized manner. He was artistic even when he was the most philosophical and scientific.

Nietzsche has been falsely accused of being one of the causes of the world war by means of his teachings. On the contrary he was little appreciated, if not quite ignored, in his own country before his death; he disliked and opposed those tendencies which culminated in the war, and he was a most appreciative admirer of the French and their civilization. Though not democratic in his social and political theories, Nietzsche was a strong individualist, and was not friendly to the paternalistic tendencies which developed in Germany in his time. He was essentially an aristocrat, believed strongly in heredity as dividing society into clearly defined classes. In his opinion, as much as in that of Ruskin, some men are born to dominate others, while the great majority are nothing better than slaves.

While Nietzsche accepted the law of evolution, he regarded it as a vitalistic process manifested as the expression of a subtle power. The will behind all nature, as well as the life of humanity, is an impersonal and imperative power, capable of working out all the processes of creation and destruction; but it does not lead to results controlled by any merely human ends. Life comes and life goes; but it is the result of a mighty and eternal process, in no wise anthropomorphic or taking on the characteristics of man's petty will. Rather it is a blind force that works out unconscious and impersonal results, which are at once tremendous and unreasoning.

One of the purposes of Nietzsche in his writings was to give a new meaning to morality, to take it out of the realms of conventionality and prejudice, and to give it a primary and eternal significance. He aimed at the reversion of all moral purposes, to bring about a transvaluation of all ethical values. This process of moral regeneration or recreation is to be brought about by great personalities, which Nietzsche chose to regard as supermen. These men do not represent a new race or a new type of man, but man as the highest outcome of heredity. In this he was essentially an aristocrat, for in his opinion the great majority of men are in need of guides, masters capable of leading them to the highest ends of human life. The will to power, power as capacity for the domination and control of other men, Nietzsche's highest philosophical conception, manifested as the most perfect result of heredity as shown in supermen, is the force most active in the evolution of mankind. The great mass of men are born with submissive and abject minds, have no power of initiative, and must be directed to their tasks by the supreme masters of the race.

Not only are the great majority of men of a slavish nature, but Christianity has helped to debase them to a still lower degree of moral and social inefficiency. This religion, in the opinion of Nietzsche, originated with slaves; and it has always been accepted, when truly believed, by those persons whose minds are debased and groveling. On the other hand, a true morality is aristocratic, imperative, supremely masterful. Christianity has led men astray, and the world must get rid of it, if any genuine and progressive morality is to be developed in the future. This new morality propounded by Nietzsche is egoistic, often finding what is called evil to be really good in its nature. What is conventionally called good is in reality nothing less than evil. A true morality will lead men back to instinct, impel them to live according to nature, and demand of them that they shall be self-assertive. In the metaphysical sense nothing whatever is evil, and as an abstraction good has no existence.

Nietzsche was agnostic, pantheistic, and an atheist, one who rejected all forms of anthropomorphism. He has been described as personally religious; but this was because he had regard to the supreme facts of human existence. Nietzsche's conception of the superman is in many ways related to the messianic conception of the Jews, the successors of the Buddha in the teachings of the Buddhists, and the recurrence of prophetic leaders as conceived of by the Moslem. To Nietzsche the superman might be poor, unrecognized, of little social importance, and not in his own time accepted as an intellectual guide; but he is a man of insight, one capable of far-seeing vision, able to lead mankind to new heights of truth and duty. The superman is not a king, president or other ruler; but one who can devise a new moral and social order, think out larger political conceptions, and give a fresh direction to the mental activities of mankind.

Another of Nietzsche's conceptions is that of the eternal recurrence of the universe, which gradually degenerates, disintegrates and disappears. Then it comes again into existence through those inherent vital powers it possesses, and which have caused its previous evolution. It does not become better or more perfect than before; but repeats itself in every particular. Nietzsche thought that he would pass through the same career, write the same books, suffer from the same illnesses (and become insane as before). This process of recurrence occurs again and yet again. The universe has already passed through many such recurrences, and it is destined to pass through many more in endless succession.

Nevertheless, Nietzsche maintained that there would be evolved a new morality and a new religion; and that man would rise to great heights of excellence in the future. This progress of mankind to higher destinies, however, would be only for the present phase of the eternal recurrence; and it was destined to pass away, and then to come again, in the same form. In Nietzsche's thought no permanent progress is to be anticipated. However high it may reach, it is nothing more than one stage of the eternal process of recurrence.

Futile as may seem to be many of Nietzsche's teachings, he produced a great impression on the opening years of the present century. In his own lifetime securing only a few admirers, among them such men as Taine, Brandes and Strindberg, he has come now to find readers and admirers in many countries. Especially does his theory of the superman commend him to the students of heredity, and those who accept the

eugenic principles. Many persons have come to agree with his idea that we need a new and more natural and virile morality. His transvaluation of all ethical values is a phrase frequently repeated. His eternal recurrence does not commend itself to any considerable number of his readers, but there are not lacking those who accept it.

As a prose-poet, as a master of the aphorism, and as the initiator of daring speculations, Nietzsche has commended himself to a widening circle of appreciative readers. His criticisms of current morality and religion have secured for him many an admirer. The boldness of his speculations, his daring negation of what men commonly accept, his strenuous attacks on Christianity, and his intense hatred of all pretense and sham, as well as his fierce rejection of tradition and myth, have won for him a goodly number of disciples. His innovations and his affirmations may not be widely accepted, but they are much discussed, and they have perceptibly influenced the ideas of our time.

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.

"The Fellowship of Adventurers of the Spirit"

In the spring of 1919, just before Gandhi, in protest against dishonored promises, proclaimed that memorable all-India day-of-fasting that preceded the Amritsar massacre, business required me to be in the Kamoan, less than fifty miles from the highest peak of the Himalayas, there called "the roof of the world." I happened to be alone, with only native assistants, more than a dozen miles from the nearest English settlement and, so far as I knew, from, also, a single white face.

There were perhaps a hundred or more books in the bungalow I occupied—novels, odds and ends. There was nothing to do but read—and tramp—and look at the mountains—range upon range rising, mass on mass, toward the distant sun-bathed snow-crest, purple-white against the blue. "The strength of the everlasting hills" . . .

Somehow, fiction rather palled in comparison. There was an old coverless bible in the corner of the bookshelves. Bored with too exclusive association with myself, I took this out on the cliff one afternoon and, skipping inessentials, scanned its high-lights, so to speak, from Abraham's initial "spring-fever," wander-lust, for new pastures, keener adventure, which he interpreted as "the word of the Lord," on through the whole inspiring array of psychological, spiritual experiments, on to the day when Isaiah faced the certainty of foreign invasion of "the land of his fathers," the Holy City, with no army of defence, no solidarity or even civilian resistance, scarcely anyone to so much as listen to his prediction, conviction, vision—call it what you please—that this invasion was already on its way. He was thoroughly disheartened, his own faith at ebb-tide. He went out alone and sat down on the riverbank and "kidded" himself, auto-suggested, "renewed his faith"—see it from any angle you will, the fact is there. Over and over he told himself—"The Egyptians are men, they are not God; their horses are flesh, they are not spirit," and recalled one by one all "the men of old time" who had relied on "that which the eye sees not" and who had been "delivered." And presently, enthused to intensity, he hurried back to fire the inertia of the masses with "thus saith the Lord" and the routing of the enemy (with some help from the weather) brought to him the unshakeable conviction that was thereafter to be reckoned among the inspired classics of the world—that they "who trust in the strength of the spirit," "they who wait on the Lord shall renew their strength . . . they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint." He himself had just then done several very strenuous days' work for an old man, but evidently felt none the worse for it, rather, indeed, keyed up to an exaltation of confidence and courage well worth being made into a scripture.

The point that particularly impressed me throughout all these old world chronicles, was that these more sensitized of each generation under the impulsion of some psychological imperative, justified and reassured this to the inspiration of action, by recalling how their forefathers had so ventured (without material surety, outward authority) and had "not been confounded." The impression left by that afternoon's reading—from Abraham's pioneer initiative on—to the last of the "lesser prophets"—was of a cumulative faith, in a sense anonymous, gathering momentum, clarity, with each relay of adventurers, a sort of common human inheritance of impetus toward the unknown, confidence in the unseen, in "the spiritual urge" rather than material verification; that courage is the very core of any faith worth the name.

And then the gospels. It was in discussion with a member of the Brahmo-Somaj, sometime before this, that I had been reminded that to Confucius belongs the credit of the Golden Rule; that for Buddha is claimed the last word in love, non-resistance, meekness, compassion (I have seen Jains—the surviving Buddhist sect in India—breathing only through gauze in tenderness toward microscopic life); and I had realized that perhaps the sole original contribution of Jesus was a personal conviction counterparting, so to speak—on the sociological, the spiritual, side—the discovery of the circulation of the blood in physical organisms; that literally "men are *more* than brothers," scientifically, organically, inescapeably, "members one of another." Incidentally this would sponge out at a single stroke the past two thousand years' welter of words anent "mysteries of vicarious atonement"—i. e., once having visioned *organic* human unity, Jesus simply staked everything on the validity of this discovery of his, the conviction that even a single fearless spiritual adventurer, a single courageous soul inflexibly true to its ideal, could stay the gangrene of hypocrisy that so nauseated him on every hand, could eventually inoculate, impregnate, the whole social organism with a fresh "culture," with spiritual health. As someone has put it:

> Jesus simply sensed the human-wide need for a spiritual mustard-plaster, so to speak—an intense focussing and purging of disorders. The psychological imperative of his profound conviction of organic human unity left him no alternative. "In his own person"—naturally, how else?—he accepted, assumed, the mustard-plaster. Simplicity itself. Never mind all the pious myths, theological, symbolical, embroideries. Never mind hair-splitting as to the "historic existence" of Jesus. It is a good story—who knows a better? It answers its purpose; let it go at that. There is perhaps no such thing as vicarious death? But quite certainly, whether of intention or not, all living is vicarious. This is the crux of the matter.

And Jesus said, "Greater things than these shall ye do." He realized that he was by no means the last of the long fellowship of spiritual adventurers. . . .

My work called me to Bombay. There I met Ma-

hatma Gandhi and the courageous souls who are his close associates. One incident is particularly vivid in my memory. It was after the massacre, Gandhi's arrest, release and prohibition to leave Bombay. The situation was very tense; the atmosphere throughout all India charged with apprehension, indignation, ready to flame into violence in a hundred populous towns. An old man was sitting in the walled yard of a house on Malabar Hill where Gandhi was then stopping. His hair and beard were white, his shoulders bent, but the fire of youth was in his eyes, the strength of his endurance seemed limitless. Scarcely thinking of sleep or food, for days on end he had worked continuously, persuading, encouraging, explaining, organizing, going over masses of papers, reports, records, conferring with Gandhi and others regarding decisions perhaps involving thousands of lives. Before us in the earth about the doorway a tiny seed, in the might of its germinating impulse, had raised a stone of perhaps some ounces weight and hundreds of times its size, enough to find its way out to the light.

"Who that has seen a seed spring up," this old man said, "in the very teeth of the law of gravitation that we have called an irresistible force, from under crushing weights, as this seed has come, can doubt the strength of a living idea? That tiny thread of green will one day be a great tree, and the strength with which it will then defy the storms will have been derived as much from the intangible elements of the air as from the minerals of the earth. . . . We of India know of the immanence of power, the soul-force that nothing can resist. . . . I may not see it in the flesh, but I know that this great ideal stirring in my country today will move the whole world with its might. . . ."

Then I came home, in the autumn of 1919, having been in the Orient more than five years. And I found great changes in the thought, the temper, the mental atmosphere, of my own country. "The war" was "over," but there were grave new dangers, sinister forces to be met, and everywhere brave souls of trenchant sincerity were pressing forward to meet the need. There was talk of the "contemporary scriptures of a new humanity." As Herbert Cory puts it:

The basis of the whole labor movement today is in a great new religion, often vague but always vivid, that thrills at the ideal of solidarity as Christians once thrilled, in the beginning, at the thought of universal brotherhood. . . . Religion . . . the courageous facing of the unknown . . . heralds us to new crises and new unknowns to experiment with . . . beckons the true adventurer to new frontiers . . . that great problem on which the religion of today must focus is the relation of man to his fellow-man, the deepest mystery of our age. . . .

I lived close to men and women who daily lived these things (not calling them "religion"), many of whom are now in prison that their opportunity to spread such ideas may be curtailed. And recently, when a convention in Chicago asked a group of men in Leavenworth for their decision regarding application for "pardon" the spirit of their answer (a few sentences from which are quoted below) recalled again that afternoon under the eaves of the Himalayas when I so vividly envisioned this "fellowship of spiritual adventurers." And yet again, when under the headline of "disarmament" a conference on "Eastern problems" is being called, I realize that it must indeed be that the "little seed," the "soul-force" of which the white-haired Hindu talked, is already seriously menacing the dominance of physical force in the "birthplace of the religions of the world."

J. T. ("Red") Doran, who framed this reply from Leavenworth, and whose name heads the long list of those affixed, is probably known personally to not a few of the readers of UNITY.

Individual application for "pardon" inevitably implies that the remaining defendants are "guilty." . . . All are innocent of any crime and all should receive the same consideration if justice be done. . . . We wish it understood that neither our position nor our point of view regarding the necessity for solidarity has changed. . . . We are not conscious of having committed any crime nor of having violated any law and therefore we can not consistently make any application for "pardon."

In a subsequent letter to a friend Mr. Doran wrote:

To ask for individual "pardon" is in my opinion disloyal not only to those of the group who are not perhaps so widely known as others may be, but also to the cause itself. . . . I believe that the moral value of our cause is, socially, very great, and great educational service may be accomplished through it. . . .

And so this man who has lectured at Cambridge and other university centers, and throughout the country, is voluntarily serving his full sentence rather than take advantage of the offers of his influential friends to secure his individual release.

To the present writer the crux of the whole matter lies in the fact that since any release is conditioned upon at least formal admission of "crime," application for this entails moral degradation; and since effort for individual release involves disregard of fellow fighters, of the great ideal of solidarity, these men—all the men and women in prison today for conscience' sake—have raised the whole matter to a spiritual issue, realizing that even in physical isolation, a "great steadfastness" is not without its influence, human-wide.

In their courageous faith in this same force by which Gandhi is conquering in a day, as it were, wiping out immemorial caste lines, uniting in invincible spiritual brotherhood men of all tongues, creeds, customs, these men, also, enlisted in this great new crusade for "a social order worthy of humanity" belong indeed to the fellowship of adventurers of the spirit.

P. D. ELLIOT.

One (rainbow) at the bottom of a fine but furious fall was very pleasant; there it remained motionless, whilst the gusts and clouds of spray swept furiously across its place and were dashed against the rock. It looked like a spirit strong in faith and steadfast in the midst of the storm of passions sweeping across it; and though it might fade and revive, still it held on to the rock as in hope and giving hope, and the very drops which, in the whirlwind of their fury, seemed as if they would carry all away, were made to revive it and give it greater beauty. How often are the things we fear and esteem as troubles made to become blessings to those who are led to receive them with humility and patience.—*Michael Faraday.*

A HYMN OF HATE.

I hate the sounds of war, the hammer's clang forging its weapons;
I hate the blare of trumpets calling the legions to slaughter;
I hate the shouts of triumph ringing over the bodies of men;
I hate the glory of "leaders" who send others before them, reaping, not sowing;
I hate the sight of the maimed, the blind and the helpless;
I hate the long desolation, the weeping of widows, the hunger of children,
And, more than all, I hate the folly of peoples who foster the madness!

N. Y. World. —*Don C. Seitz.*

Pawn Shops and the Middle-Class in Berlin

It is not too much to say that the middle class has suffered more from the privations and losses of war in Germany than any other class of the population. These people live, for the most part, on fixed incomes or salaries which have not advanced in the same degree that the wages of the working class have advanced, and many of them have been reduced to the barest level of existence during the years that have succeeded the outbreak of the war with ever increasing disaster. It is impossible to understand how many of these people live at all. Many of them are able barely to make ends meet by renting rooms to strangers, whom they would never before have thought of taking into their homes, or by younger members of the family, who ought to be in school, going out into employment.

The cost of living in Berlin, as is well known, has advanced in the last few years anywhere from 1,000 to 2,500 per cent. Eggs that before the war cost 5 pfennigs apiece, now cost 150 pfennigs. Butter that formerly was Mk. 1.60 a pound, now sells at Mks. 30. Meat of good quality that averaged about Mks. 2. a pound before the war, now costs from Mks. 20. to Mks. 30., while fresh milk is entirely unobtainable except for the sick, and upon a few farms where cattle are raised. Even condensed milk was unobtainable until about six months ago and now sells at about Mk. 10. a can, which makes it too expensive to use save very sparingly. Sugar, which is still rationed and which sold before the war at about 25 pfennigs a pound, now costs Mks. 8. These commodities can, of course, be obtained illicitly for about two or three times the cost prescribed for those which are rationed. The result has been a widespread reduction in the standard of living.

It is the middle class, moreover, which is most difficult to help, because even the neediest are amazingly successful in concealing their poverty, and they do not, of course, accept charity willingly. An article published recently in a Berlin newspaper concerning the development of pawn shops and pawn shopping in Berlin, is significant. It runs as follows:

Passing along the Jaeger Strasse between 11 a. m. and one o'clock, one can espy a long chain of people standing in a queue in front of the arched entrance of a house. All of them carry a parcel of larger or lesser dimensions, or have their hands in their pockets, clutching at some valuable. The house is the State Pawnshop, and in this pawnshop not only are human tragedies daily unfolded, but the dire necessity of the present is thrown out in bold relief. In 1917 and 1918 business was bad here, for the conjuncture of war flourished outside, strewing its "paper" blessings wide and far. During the revolution, too, business was bad, as, owing to the unstableness of all conditions people considered their belongings safer at home than in the pawn shops. But towards the close of 1919 people commenced to frequent the house in the Jaeger Strasse, and during the last ten months, from April, 1920, to January, 1921, the amount paid out on pawns by the State brokers, was doubled. On an average 150 to 200 persons pawn articles daily at the head offices in the Jaeger Strasse (there is a branch shop in the Linien Strasse). Quite recently 149 articles were pawned for a total of 95,175 marks on one day and 84 pledges were redeemed for 95,098 marks. It is noticeable that not so much business is done in the Linien Strasse branch, where the working-classes represent the main part of the clientele, the average there being 120 persons.

Among the people who now visit the pawn shop one can today count far more members of the middle classes, and even of the best and oldest families than ever before. A little while ago a former general pawned a set of silver candle-sticks in order to be able, as he openly confessed, to buy a suit for his son. The October statistics provide an exact picture of the clients who passed through the Jaeger Strasse during the month: 430 workmen and shop-keepers, 20 factory hands, 15 persons living on their incomes, 26 artists, 14 students, 14 officers, 26 members of professional classes (doctors, professors, teachers, literary men), 110 civil servants and 345 unattached women. Foreigners are also among the habitues, especially Russians who principally pledge diamonds and pearls. About a fortnight ago a Russian national pawned a string of pearls for 450,000 marks cash. The frequent visitors are known to the taxators and are easily discernible by their self-possessed manners. Well-dressed men enter, take off their fur overcoats, throw them on the counter, pocket the equivalent and vanish, without a dozen words having been exchanged. Furs, pearls, and precious stones are the favorite pawns at present. Although the "Leihamt" accepts no responsibility for moths, clothes and carpet-beating goes on daily. It also possesses a collection of gems that would excite the jealousy of a Rajah.

A certain periodicity in pledging and redeeming has become customary; a rush set in before Christmas and continued until the New Year.

It would be interesting to compare the peak-load figures of pawn shopping with the fluctuations in the price of staple commodities.

Berlin, Germany. BRENT D. ALLINSON.

CORRESPONDENCE

Disarmament and War Between Japan and the United States

August 31, 1921.

Editors UNITY:

In a private letter from Madame Ozaki, wife of the distinguished democrat, Yukio Ozaki of Tokyo, I quote the following paragraph:

"You will probably have read in the papers of his (Yukio Ozaki's) Disarmament campaign. By the end of June he had finished his itinerary from one end of the empire to the other, lecturing at seventy large meetings to about 100,000 people, and distributing printed postcards for their votes. Though he charged an admission fee of fifty sen (25 cents) to defray the expenses of the campaign generally the meetings were full to overflowing, and in most places the accommodation was insufficient. All the post cards are not returned, but of those which have come in over 90 per cent are in favor of disarmament, about 5½ per cent against and 1 per cent are uncertain. Such is the result of going straight to the people, though my husband's motion was defeated in the Diet."

Very truly yours,

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

September 3, 1921.

Editors UNITY:

I quote the following passages from an address entitled "Why War Between Japan and the United States of America is Impossible," by Baron Sakatani, late mayor of Tokyo:

"Fortunately those two aggressive nations (Germany and Russia) have lost prestige in the East during the great war, yet even at present incontestable evidences indicate their advocacy of the so-called Eastern policy. This is why it is the earnest desire of Japanese politicians to establish a buffer state in the Far East.

"American-Japanese friendship is historical, and although at present there is no formal alliance between the two nations, the cordial assistance extended by the

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WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM.

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Are you interested in the personnel of the coming Disarmament Conference?

Do you not believe that its success depends upon the appointment of members sincerely desirous of disarmament, and upon an overwhelming public sentiment in its favor?

The names of the men thus far appointed to represent the United States give little hope that the conference will sincerely attempt a radical reduction of armaments such as the world needs. President Harding has shown that he is amenable to suggestion.

Will you not write a letter to the President and get *five friends to do the same,* asking him to find a place at the conference for our International chairman, Jane Addams. Her presence there would help to restore our confidence. Her qualifications for such a position are well known: knowledge of world conditions, her many forms of public service, tact, judgment, moral, courage, and her work for a just and lasting peace.

And will you not at the same time thank him for his assurance that the Disarmament Conference is to be an open conference. We all know the dangers of secret sessions and we want to get behind the President strongly on this.

If you will do this please send a postcard saying so to the World Friendship Bureau, Room 1010, Fine Arts Building, so that we may know what support to count upon.

For the benefit of those who hesitate to write, we make the suggestion that you cover your points clearly but be brief. The President will not be likely to see your letter but its contents will be noted by a secretary.

We invite members from other parts of the country to visit our Chicago headquarters when in Chicago.

The Chicago Branch is planning to celebrate the return of Miss Addams and the other delegates to the International Congress early in October, probably October 12th, invitations will be sent to mid-western members.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
Chicago Branch,
ELLA BOYNTON, *Chairman.*

FROM A LETTER FROM SWITZERLAND:

". . . The present time has much to do with it (the change), and the general social upheaval. Who would ever have dreamt that old aristocratic Basle, the whig of the whig cities in Switzerland, would see parades headed by the red flag, children singing the 'Internationale' in droves while going to school —that fiery speeches proclaiming Revolution would be made on the old market-place before the venerable old city hall, where generation on generation of Basle families reigned! But so it is here, and it gives the town a peculiar aspect. Sometimes you see 30-50 people walking over the bridge to the market-place. Men and women, shabby, in rags, without hats, like you see in photographs from Russia. They carry a red flag and they look desperate. They go to the market-place and call for a Revolution. . . . What stabilizes the situation is the peasantry. The peasants grew rich during the war. They are some of those newly rich that we have, for they have all made money with their cattle, their wood, their vegetables, and now you bet they hang on to their francs like grim death. Here in the city misery reigns . . . lots of unemployment, lots of poverty. My brother just came in to say that an awful mob had just passed our house. They were dirty, in rags, carrying red flags and singing the 'Marseillaise' and the 'Internationale.' We can hear them inside. . . ."

A CHILD'S LETTER TO HERBERT HOOVER.

In the Essen district office of the American Friends Service Committee which, through the generosity of thousands of warm-hearted Americans has been supplying a daily meal of nourishing food to almost one million children throughout Germany, there was received recently a letter from a child in the town of Eilendorf, near Aachen. It was addressed personally to Mr. Herbert Hoover in familiar, not to say affectionate terms.

The letter has been forwarded to the Secretary of Commerce in Washington, who, it is presumed, in due time will acknowledge it.

The child is 12 years old and has been participating in the Quaker feeding for six months. A translation of his letter follows:

"Dear uncle Hoover,

I am a sick child. The terrible war, which I am not to blame for, has made me and almost all the other children sick, because we have had nothing to eat. Now you, dear uncle, have been taking care of us. I have been eating your gifts for a long time, and I have already grown stronger. I should have liked to write to you a long time ago, but I was afraid to make the good uncle angry. How I should like to come and see you, to thank you and your friends for all the good you are doing to us, but I am small and poor. Do you know what I am doing? I am praying for you and all the other good people from America. For the good food I do thank you most heartily. It is excellent, especially the nice rolls and the sweet soups. In the morning, when we go to the feeding, I am always among the first ones. Our teachers give us plenty to eat and rejoice with us. Could you only come once to see us? I hope that you will bestow these fine gifts upon us for a long time yet, for here in Germany there is not much to be had. *When I am strong again and have grown older, I will also help you if you are sick or hungry.*

God be with you and your friends!

JOSEPH HENSCH."

United States for the progress of civilization in Japan since the opening of our country sixty years ago is highly appreciated by the Japanese people, who regard the United States as their teacher in international affairs and sincerely respect the claims of the Americans on every occasion. Whenever some trouble took place between the two nations, it was always the sincere desire of the Japanese to reach a rational and amicable settlement on the basis of the maintenance of peace, and the most influential circles of both countries have always tried to prevent misunderstandings by keeping close contact with each other.

THE ARMAMENT RACE.

"It is incomprehensible that journals and public speakers in both Japan and the United States are predicting the imminent danger of war to the unrest and agitation of the public in general. At the same time both governments are spending tremendous sums of money in manufacturing big guns and super-dreadnoughts and fortifying small islands in the Pacific. What is the true intention of those formidable armaments? A dramatic engagement on the Pacific of two powerful navies would be a sensational event for the strategists of both countries, but what will be the pains and burdens of the peoples of Japan and the United States if they enter on naval rivalry? If the two nations ever take up arms against each other, nothing will result except years of unbearable pain and the economic ruin of both nations. Who can conceive that the Japanese army would land at San Francisco and march to New York and Washington, or that the Americans with their formidable armaments and their endless resources would annihilate the Japanese people even after a century of incessant effort?

"Taking these facts into consideration, I hold there is no question pending between Japan and the United States which is impossible of peaceful solution. It is only the infernal influence of rumors which distort apparent facts and would rush both nations into preparation for fantastic war. I trust that the people of Japan and the United States will arouse themselves to urge their governments not to prosecute such absurd and dangerous policies."

Very truly yours,

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

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